Appendix A

Whale Hunting and the Makah Tribe:
A Needs Statement

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Whale Hunting and the Makah Tribe

I. INTRODUCTION

This document presents information pertinent to the continuation of the Makah subsistence whale hunt, and is presented in two parts: a cultural component and a nutritional component. The Needs Statement demonstrates the following points:

1) Whale hunting for subsistence purposes is an activity Makahs practiced for at least 1,500 years before the present day. Documented use of whale products for subsistence purposes extends another 750 years before this date, since Makahs used drift and stranded whales long before hunting technology developed. Continuation of the restored whale hunt will maintain important subsistence benefits reintroduced to the Makah community in 1999. This benefit increases in importance as the unemployment rate in Washington State increases and as salmon and other Pacific fishing stocks continue to vary in abundance. Increasing variance in international and domestic fishing quotas diminish the reliability of the marine subsistence component of the Makah Tribe, along with the environmental pressures exerted by oil spills, red tides, pollution, and other factors beyond the control of the Tribe. Gray whales are a reliable resource that can offset subsistence pressures from other sources.

2) For 1500 years, whale hunting and its associated components have had important ceremonial and social functions for the Makah community, in addition to the provision of subsistence benefits. The importance of this ceremonial and subsistence practice is demonstrated in the Treaty of Neah Bay, signed in 1855. Makah negotiators insisted that the right to hunt whale be included in the treaty; this right is reserved in Article IV, and is discussed in more depth later in this document.

Elders and anthropologists trace the decline of the social and physical health of the tribe to the elimination of the whale hunt and its associated ceremonial and social rigors. A community survey conducted in 2001 December, demonstrated that an overwhelming majority (93.9%) of the village believes that the resumption of the whale hunt has positively affected the Tribe, and 51.6% specifically cited moral and social changes as the most important benefit. Clearly, the Makah people believe that the restoration of the hunt has contributed to the physical and mental health of the reservation. Continuation of the hunt will maintain this new-found motivation and momentum, and allow the Makah community to redefine and refine ancestral information and values in light of modern times. The revitalization of the hunt has allowed Makahs an additional mechanism to instill the traditional values of the Tribe which help young and old to conquer the vicissitudes of modern life.

3) The Household Whaling Survey (Renker 2002) provides an important tool which provides empirical support for the emotional and psychological benefits mentioned previously. Data indicated that an overwhelming majority of Makah respondents support the Makah whale hunt, and that most reservation households now desire whale products to be a regular part of their diets. For example, 86.5% of survey respondents wanted whale meat in their households on a regular basis, and 72.4% of the survey respondents felt the same way about whale oil. (Survey results are discussed in detail in later sections of this document.) The results of this survey present a good picture of the mainstream opinion of the Makah people.

4) The Makah Tribe has been actively involved in the management and protection of its wealth of resources for millenia. For thousands of years, the Makahs achieved and maintained a functional balance with many land, air, and ocean species, especially the gray and humpback whales. This carefully constructed dynamic was upset during the years of unregulated whale hunting by others on the Pacific Coast. The restored Makah whale hunt has not affected current eastern Pacific gray whale stocks negatively, and is small in comparison to the total aboriginal subsistence harvest. In fact, current figures indicate that the gray whale population continues to maintain numbers that are at historic high levels.

5) The Makah people can now actively demonstrate the continuing existence of their 2,000 year old subsistence culture. The whale had always played an integral part in the subsistence practices of the Makah Tribe, save the brief seventy year period which commenced in the 1920s. While the decimation of the whale herds made it virtually impossible for Makahs to procure the food which traditionally carried the most extraordinary social, cultural, and nutritional benefits, the restored hunt provides modern Makahs with a rich source of traditional foods which are nutritionally superior to many non-indigenous provisions which are available to the community.

The gray whale population now exceeds early historic levels. The Makah subsistence and ceremonial need to take whales should continue to be recognized and respected. Since the Tribe has a conservation record of considerable time depth, a limited subsistence whale hunt will continue to be easily managed. More importantly, another annual quota of five whales will maintain the benefits secured for future generations of Makah people by Treaty negotiators.

The Makah request for five whales is again predicated on the fact that Tribal membership is now composed of the residents of the five traditional Makah villages which were consolidated during the early years of the Reservation. Since Treaty times, the Makah Tribe has always represented itself as a nation which began as five villages. This request honors this tradition, and asks for one whale per village.

In addition, a review of the ethnographic literature finds that the number five, whether an actual figure or an average, appears multiple times in discussions of early historic harvests (Jewitt 1815, Cavanaugh 1983, Huelsbeck 1988). Five whales per year did not create an undue population stress for a healthy gray whale stock in the years prior to 1830, and would not adversely affect the modern, healthy, gray whale population of the eastern Pacific (Environmental Assessment 2001).

METHOD STATEMENT

Interpretation of Makah history, culture, and language is accomplished through the juxtaposition of a variety of sources. By evaluating evidence from Makah archaeological sites (like Ozette),in conjunct with oral histories, linguistic information, ethnographies, and early written records of traders, explorers and agency employees, one generates a cultural profile that simultaneously integrates and cross-references these distinct sources of data.

The primary source of archaeological data substantiating the existence of Makah pre-Treaty whale hunts and offshore fisheries is the Ozette Collection, the largest and most comprehensive collection of pre-contact Makah artifacts in the world. The Ozette village was one of five pre-contact Makah villages which were occupied throughout the year: **di.ya** or Neah Bay; **bi?id?a** or Biheda; **wa?ac'** or Why-atch; **c'u.yas** or Tsoo-yess; and **?use.?i=** or Ozette (Taylor 1974). Unlike the others, Ozette was partially buried by a catastrophic mudslide approximately 400 years ago. A massive archaeological excavation from 1970 - 1981 uncovered 50,000 artifacts that were remarkably well preserved; these artifacts tell the story of the Makah culture as it was prior to contact with non-Indians (Wessen 1982, Huelsbeck 1983).

When interpreting the anthropological literature, a standard procedure relating to the classification of the Makah culture as a member of the Nootkan cultural group was followed. The Makah culture is the only example of a Nootkan culture outside of Canada; all other Nootkan groups reside along the western and southwestern coast of Vancouver Island. Scholars recognize the close relationship between Makah and the other members of the Nootkan cultural category (Curtis 1911, Drucker 1951, Driver 1969, Arima 1990, Renker 1994). It is therefore standard practice to consider sources relating both to the sub-group which is the focus of inquiry (Makah), and nearby closely related sub-groups on Vancouver Island (**nu.ca.nu.=** bands).

For the nutritional component of the Needs Statement, the document utilized the methodology and definitions endorsed by the United Nations University and the International Union of Nutrition Science's Committee on Nutritional Anthropology.

The methodology for the Household Whaling Survey (Renker 2002) is discussed in Appendix 3.

Definitions

Pre-contact refers to the chronological time period prior to 1788. **Historic** refers to the chronological time period from 1788-1933. **Contemporary** refers to the chronological time period from 1934 till today.

A Makah elder is an individual who is enrolled in the Makah Tribe, is over 75 years of age, and is a native speaker of the Makah language.

Westcoast refers to the generalized cultural group of Makah, Nitinaht, and Nootkan peoples. **nu.ca.nu.**= refers only to Nitinaht and Nootkan peoples since these people are closely related subgroups who live on Vancouver Island.

Subsistence refers to the anthropological concept that a particular food product or supplement is directly acquired by th people who will use the item for local consumption and nutritional purposes.

Linguistic and Other Conventions

Elements of the Makah language (morphemes, words and the like) are printed in **bold** type to enhance visibility. Because of the limitations affecting the preparation of this opinion, I use a variation of the Makah Alphabet. A key to the adaptation used i this document is included in Appendix 1.

Indented citations with quotation marks are taken from oral histories. Indented citations without quotation marks are from written sources.

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II. WHALE HUNTING AND THE MAKAH TRIBE: THE CULTURAL COMPONENT

Cultural Abstract

Anthropologically, the Makah culture is classified within the Nootkan sub-division of Northwest Coast cultures. The Makah people speak a language, **q*i.q*i.diccaq**, which is classified as a member of the Wakashan language family. The Makah Tribe is the only representative of the Nootkan cultural classification and the Wakashan language family in the United States (Renker and Gunther 1990; Renker 1994).

Classic descriptions are exemplified in Swan (1870), Curtis (1911), Waterman (1920), and Densmore (1939); some of the more recent publications include Renker (1994) and Renker and Gunther (1990), which span pre-contact through contemporary times, as well as Parker-Pascua (1991), which concentrates on Makah pre-contact life. Like all cultures termed Northwest Coast cultures by anthropologists, the classification is based upon factors first identified in these cultures as each existed in early historic times. Makah culture exhibits a number of characteristic Northwest Coast traits and trait complexes, including:

1. Emphasis on achieved wealth as measured in property and hereditary rights;

2. Complex patterns of social stratification;

3. A highly developed painting and wood carving style;

4. A material culture based on the abundance of the wood resource in the area, especially when related to the absence of other technologies, such as ceramics; and,

5. A subsistence pattern based on the utilization of available marine, riverine, subtidal and intertidal resources, as well as a predictable supply of anadromous fish.

The factors which further classify the Makah culture within the Nootkan sub-division provide a more detailed list of items which distinguish the Makah culture from other American Northwest Coast cultures. These factors include: a)the integration of rank and kinship as the basis for social interaction (Drucker 1951); b) the integration of land and sea spirits in a ceremonial complex which featured both inclusive and exclusive secret societies and events (Curtis 1911, Sapir 1939, Sapir and Swadesh 1955); c) the development of a highly regulated system of ceremonial and economic privileges, including the ownership of, and control over, tangible and intangible properties such as whaling grounds, fishing grounds, and other sections of ocean and river property (Curtis 1911, Densmore 1939, Drucker 1951); and d) the development of ocean-going technologies like fixed referent

navigation and the construction of sea-worthy canoes (Drucker 1951, Renker and Pascua 1989).

These last technologies are prominent components in the most dramatic pursuit of the Makah Tribe: whale hunting. Several Pacific coastal Tribes utilized dead whales which happened to drift onto the shore, or cultivated ritualists who actively used sympathetic magic to entice these drift animals. In contrast, the Makahs and some of their Vancouver Island relatives were famous for their active and aggressive hunt of these large sea mammals (Swan 1870, Waterman 1920, Densmore 1939).

The Whaling Culture of the Makah Tribe

The relationship between Makah people and whales is one of great antiquity. Archaeological data from a recent excavation at the Makah village of Wa-atch indicate that whale bones were present some 3,850+ 75 years b.p. (before present) (Wessen 1994). Food use of drift and stranded whale predated hunting technology. Better known data from the Ozette site demonstrate some 1,500 years of continuous whale use. This practice continued through the period of contact with non-Indians, and persisted into this century. Recorded history provides a variety of dates for the last Makah whale hunt prior to 1999; it probably happened during the latter half of the 1920s (Laut 1928).

Archaeological and ethnohistorical data demonstrate that Makahs hunted a variety of species of whale which traveled through their territory, including the gray (Eschrichtius robustus), humpback (Megaptera novaeangliae), finback (Balaenoptera physalus), and right whales (Eubalaena glacialis). Huelsbeck (1988a:5) discusses the traits which make both gray whales and humpbacks attractive prey. In addition to swimming slowly and near the shore, both types of whales could appear during the summer. Humpbacks have also been known to migrate along the coast, but not to the extent that gray whales do. Non-Indian whale hunters characterize the gray as the more aggressive species of the two during a hunt (Hagelund 1987).

There is no doubt that Makah people hunted whale in pre-contact times, and that the hunt was an important subsistence activity. The Ozette site yielded whale hunting gear and over 3400 whale bones, including whale bones with embedded harpoon shell blades (Huelsbeck 1988a:1).

The archaeological record is supported by ethnographic sources like the Jewitt Narrative, one of the most interesting and important first person accounts generated during the European exploration of the Pacific Northwest Coast. John Jewitt was one of the surviving crew members of the ship Boston, which was ravaged and sunk by the **nu.ca.nu.**= Chief, Maquinna, in Nootka Sound in 1803. Jewitt remained in Maquinna's service as a slave until his rescue in 1805, and recorded his experiences and observations in a diary first published in 1815.

In spite of his ethnocentrism and lack of knowledge of **nu.ca.nu.**= culture, Jewitt's observations remain a key document in the early historical record of the area. Jewitt describes the enormous amount of time Maquinna and his crew invested in the pursuit of offshore whales in 1804 and 1805. During these years, Maquinna had only one successful hunt.

Cavanaugh (1983) indicates that Maquinna's lack of whale hunting success during the 1804 and 1805 seasons at Nootka Sound was not indicative of the fate of other hunters. While Maquinna secured one whale during Jewitt's captivity, hunters procured an additional four whales. Simple addition indicates that the people of Nootka Sound had the food and product resource of five hunted whales at their disposal.

According to Huelsbeck, calculations produce a scenario based on abundance, rather than paucity. Using a very conservative estimate, the five whales caught at Nootka Sound "would have provided between 16.25 and 37.5 metric tons of blubber, and could have provided a similar amount of meat, depending on whether or not the California gray or the larger humpback whale was taken" (Huelsbeck 1988b:3). This huge quantity of meat and blubber could have provided between 32.5 and 150 kg. of edible whale product per person for a village with a population of 500 individuals (Huelsbeck 1988b:4).

Certainly the number of whales taken by all Makah crews varied from year to year. A minimum of 67 whales were "represented by the bones recovered from the late prehistoric level" at Ozette (Huelsbeck 1988a:7), constituting a huge quantity of food products and raw material. Based on historic documents, Huelsbeck estimates that whalers of the Yuquot band, a **nu.ca.nu.**= group, "would have averaged 5 whales per year" (1988:157). Densmore reports a much higher success rate for historic Makah whale hunters. "In old times the average catch for a whaler was one or two whales a year, but a man often caught four and occasionally five in a season" (1939:63). Wilcox (1895:20) provides a more conservative appraisal of the Makah whale hunt for the years 1889-1892. His figures indicate that the Makah Tribe averaged 5.5 whales per year (as cited in Huelsbeck 1988:152) at a time when the cetacean population had already been severely impacted by other, non-Makah whaling interests.

Makah whale hunting capitalized on the annual northerly migration of the gray whale, and the availability of the humpback in their waters. Archeological data corroborate Makah oral history in this regard. In the Ozette Collection, 50.51% of the whale bones identifiable by species were that of the gray, while another 46.51% came from the humpback (Huelsbeck 1988a:4). The remainder of the sample contained finback, right, sperm and killer whales. Huelsbeck interprets the archaeological and ethnohistorical data to indicate that the finback and right whales were hunted from time to time, while the sperm and killer whales "probably represent drift whales" (1988a:6), although some Makah families have oral traditions which involve hunting these species.

The impressive gray whale migration approximately occurs from March to May, and provided a predictable resource that could be harvested by eight man whaling crews which set forth in large cedar canoes. In one hunting strategy, lookouts stationed at strategic points could see a whale and alert the proper individuals, providing enough opportunity for canoes at the ready to launch and chase the whales. (This type of whale hunt, termed an offshore hunt in Hagelund (1987) and Webb (1988), would be adopted by the non-Indian whaling interests in the area centuries later.)

Whale hunts were not restricted to this northerly migration, however. Densmore (1939:49) reports that Makahs distinguished spring whale meat from winter whale meat:

> The whales that "run in the spring" and were known as "spring whales" were said to have red meat because they ate clams and other shellfish they scooped off the rocks. The "winter whale" was considered the best and had a layer of white fat on the outside and red meat underneath.

Whatever the season, the whale hunt tested the training and stamina of the entire crew. A lucky crew might take a whale within a few miles of shore, while some hunts found Makah crews towed thirty or more miles out to sea by an injured whale. Whale hunters told Densmore that

> A wounded whale usually towed the canoe by means of the harpoon rope, held by the men, its speed depending on the severity of its wound. Sometimes the whale went so fast that the end of the canoe went down in the waves. This towing of the canoe might continue for three or four days, the whalers waiting until the whale became sufficiently weary to be dispatched (1939:52).

These great sea mammal hunts (Swan 1870, Waterman 1920), as well as interceptive and deep water fisheries, would not have been possible without a highly developed system of fixed referent navigation, and a keen understanding of the prevailing winds and weather patterns in Makah marine territory. (One appreciates Makah navigational skills more thoroughly when one considers that Captain Cook failed to "discover" the opening of the Strait of Juan de Fuca because of the thick fog.)

An example of the Makah fixed referent system was provided by a Makah elder who has been fishing since the 1920s.

> "There's a ridge on Vancouver Island, I think the main peak there is behind Carmanah Light, and that's Carmanah mountain. That's the highest one, and there's a ridge behind that as you venture to the west, one peak will show up behind that as you venture to the west, one peak will show up behind that high peak on the ridge. The first one is **c'akwaqabas**, the second one is **ʔa7qabas**, and then you have a low kind of ridge, it drops down for quite a ways, and then another peak shows up, and that's in...oh...mostly used for sealing grounds, called The Spit. Now I have electronic navigational equipment, and I look upon those landmarks to determine just where we actually were when we were one peak out, two peaks out, or seven peaks out."

When navigating out of sight of land, Makah seafarers relied on the prevailing winds and currents, as well as the shape of the waves and behavior of seabirds. For example, prevailing winds in the early morning are mostly easterly, and their afternoon counterparts are mostly westerly. Makah canoes ventured out of the sight of land knowing that attention to wind, wave, and fauna would return the vessels to land.

Makah ocean voyagers also understood that these navigational techniques could lead them directly to prime off-shore fishing and whaling areas. In the words of an experienced Makah fisherman,

> "Prevailing currents, can predict them. They run on schedule. They tell direction and duration...Once off shore, the current changes every six hours: north to south, then south to west, then west to north, then north to east. A massive current moves all the time. Currents are predictable and steady...able to predict spawning areas."

Great cedar canoes provided the means for Makah seafarers to travel these great distances offshore. Fisherman, sealers, and whale hunters each used a different type of canoe which varied in size. The whaling canoe was approximately 36 feet long (Pascua 1991) and five or more feet wide (Arima 1983:35). Carvers fashioned these vessels from a single cedar log, providing canoes that "deserve the very highest place for staunch seaworthiness, coupled with great manageableness (sic) and speed" (Waterman 1920:9).

A whaling crew consisted of a chief, or the whaler, and seven men. The whaler owned the canoe and the whaling equipment, and acted as the sole harpooner in the whaling canoe. He also owned

important ceremonial privileges acquired through his hereditary status and his ability to interact with the natural and the supernatural to assure a successful hunt.

Other crew members included a steersman, a man responsible for managing the lines and buoys, numerous paddlers, and a man who had a unique responsibility once the hunt was over and the whale was dead. This crew member, a diver, fastened the whale's mouth shut with a length of rope. In addition to sealing in gases which kept the whale afloat, fastening the mouth prevented water from filling the carcass and sinking it (Curtis 1911; Waterman 1920; Pascua 1991).

Whaling was restricted to the men who could physically and mentally withstand the rigors of intensive ritualized training, possessed the hereditary access to the position and its ritualized knowledge, and/or a underwent a supernatural encounter which engendered the gift of whaling ability (Waterman 1920:38-40, Gunther 1942, Drucker 1951:169-170).

All crew members underwent rigorous ceremonial and spiritual preparations prior to beginning a hunt; the success of the hunt depended as much on the observance of ritual as the strength and talent of the hunters (Sapir 1939:114).

> From the white point of view, the matter of greatest concern would be the arrangement of the tackle within the boat, and the methods of approaching and striking the quarry. From the Indian standpoint, however, the really important matter is the proper observance before and during the hunt of the various ceremonial performances for procuring help from the spirits. (Waterman 1920:38)

Curtis (1911) provides the most detailed accounts of rituals whalers used to prepare themselves for the hunt.

> Prayers and numerous songs form a part of every whaler's ritual. The secrets of the profession are handed down from father to son. As soon as the boy is old enough to comprehend such matters and to remember his father's words, he is permitted to accompany the whaling crew on short expeditions. Now also begins his instruction concerning the most propitious spots for ceremonial bathing-places in lakes and rivers considered the most dangerous. At the age of twelve he is taken at night and shown how to bathe and to rub his body with hemlock twigs so as to remove the human taint and render the body acceptable to the whale spirit which is being supplicated. Thereafter he bathes alone at intervals, while

> his instruction in prayers and songs continues until the father deems it proper to retire in the young man's favor (16).

These ceremonial rigors extended to the wives and relatives of the whaling crew, the chief's wife in particular. "Therefore, the whaler and his wife observe a long and exacting course of purification, which includes sexual continence and morning and evening baths at frequent intervals from October until the end of the whaling season...about the end of June" (Curtis 1911:16). This woman was expected to observe a strict set of behaviors while the crew was hunting on the ocean, or else cause havoc with the crew at sea. For example, the whaler's wife was required to lie still and utterly motionless the entire time the crew was hunting on the ocean. Lack of attention to this and other proscribed behaviors could also result in the capture of a whale that was not fat or large enough, or cause the harpooned whale to run out to sea instead of in toward the shore (Gunther 1942).

Physical equipment was also important to the pursuit of the whale. Makah whaling equipment consisted of, but was not limited to: harpoons, sealskin floats, fathoms of line made from whale sinew, fathoms of line made from cedar, and a variety of knives (Curtis 1911:16). Detailed discussions of the equipment and its use are found in Swan (1870) and Waterman (1920). Makah archaeological excavations, most notably Ozette, produced assemblages of this equipment, some of which are now on display at the Makah Tribe's museum and cultural center.

There is an amazing continuity which surrounds Makah whale hunting gear. Pre-contact whale hunting equipment found at Ozette is essentially equivalent to whale hunting gear used by Makahs during the middle and late historic period. This amazing continuity does not exclude innovation. Makah whale hunters appreciated innovation and the opportunity to improve the hunt. By the turn of this century, Wilson Parker, the Makah Whaler of Curtis' photo fame, used a metal Lewis Toggle Hook Harpoon Head on the end of his traditional yew wood harpoon, for example. Another innovation helped to cut the tedious and tiring job of endless paddling: whaling canoes accepted tows from steamers to and from the whaling grounds when the technology became available.

The Makahs hunted the variety of whales which swam in their traditional ocean areas, but favored the predictable gray whale. Descriptions of the hunt itself are available in Swan (1870), Curtis (1911), Waterman (1920), Drucker (1951), Arima (1983) and Pascua (1991).

> It would take a long time to get close to the whale while it was on the surface. Eventually, the crew brought the canoe alongside approaching on the left side and from the rear where the whale could not

> see them. The right time to harpoon was when the whale was just submerging, with its flukes well under and swung towards the canoe so that the animal would swing away in reaction and not smash the canoe (Chief Jones, personal communication). The steersman watched to see the flukes were in the right position and gave the signal to the harpooner who immediately drove the harpoon in behind the fore flipper. At once the canoe was swung sharply to the left away from the whale, and the first float was thrown out by the first right-handed paddler behind the harpooner who quickly crouched in the bow to avoid the line paying out. The next paddler back held his paddle under the line to have it run out smoothly from the space before him. The dangerous moments lasted until all the line and floats were all out because someone could get caught in a loop or the canoe could be capsized or smashed in the first violent struggles of the whale before it sounded. Any disaster that happened was thought due to the incorrect observation of tabus or performance of rituals (Arima 1983:41).

Once the first harpoon had been driven into the whale and the first set of floats were secured, a long lance was used to "attack the whale, making it bleed profusely" (Densmore 1939:50). Makah whalers told Densmore that the process of killing a whale, from first harpoon to final dispatch, could take "three to four days" (1939:52).

The successful whaler and his crew now had to tow the enormous animal and navigate their precious whale back to land, a process which could take two days (Densmore 1939:52). Unfortunately, the long delay in landing the animal could allow putrefaction to begin, thus causing the loss of the meat. The blubber would not be adversely affected by this long journey back to the beach.

Ideally, the whaler wanted to land his prize on his own beach at his own village. Using the tide to help him, the whaler beached the carcass at high tide, "to get the bones of all his whales in one spot" (Arima 1983:43). If a whaler had to beach his catch on another whaler's beach, payments had to be made; these often consisted of portions of the whale.

As the whale was staked and readied to be butchered, the community gathered for this event. Strict protocol governed the butchering process, specifying which portions of the whale were to be cut in sequence. Some regulations identified the pieces of the whale which had to be decorated and ceremonially treated. Others specified which portions were distributed to crew members and other village inhabitants. "Then pieces were given to the

rest of the Tribe in order of rank, a procedure which was always carefully observed" (Arima 1983: 43). In effect, the distribution of the whale reinforced the infrastructure of Makah society each time the process occurred.

The highly stratified nature of the Makah social system was a mirror of the status and structure involved in the entire process of the whale hunt. From ceremonial preparation, to the hunt itself, to the ultimate acts of butchering and distribution, Makah whaling actualized the social organization of Makah society. The man who acted as the harpooner for a crew was the chief, or headman, of a particular social group, usually the residents of a single longhouse. He owned the longhouse, the whaling canoe and the equipment. This man also retained the largest burden of ceremonial preparation. These two factors, a large degree of physical wealth and a close relationship with the supernatural, translated into power for the whalers in everyday life.

Whalers, or headmen, were ranked at the top of the pyramid of social standing which existed within a single longhouse. Each resident was affiliated with the headman in some way; this affiliation became the basis for ranking each individual within a residence group. Whaling generated a base from which these relationships were constantly renewed and reinforced. A successful headman could offer prestige, protection and resources to the kin and non-kin residents of his longhouse. A headman who experienced consistent failure, ostensibley because of poor preparation and ineffective supernatural connections, could lose status within his household, and lose non-kin residents as a result. The loss of these residents often translated into a loss of physical wealth and social prestige for a headman.

The anthropological literature tends to concentrate on the role of high-status men in the whale hunt. Makah oral history and articles like Gunther (1942) demonstrate that women played an important social, ceremonial and practical role in the whale hunt complex. Men, for example, were not the only ones affected by relationship between the whale hunt and social status. The women who married whalers dominated the top of the female analog to the male status pyramid. These women, like their male counterparts, found their lives governed by the concept of primogeniture. While whalers tended to be the oldest son of the oldest son of a whaler, the whaler's wife tended to be the oldest daughter of an oldest daughter of a whale hunter. Matches between the oldest son of one whaler and the oldest daughter of another were the ultimate social goal of whaling families. These alliances united two powerful, wealthy families, and insured that consolidated social, ceremonial, and political power would be transmitted to another privileged generation; this procedure is common to historical and contemporary royal families.

Oral history and anthropological documents attest to the fact that the Makah whale hunt generated a series of criteria which governed social processes like status assignations, marriage

preferences, and ceremonial displays. The community-at-large played an important role in the success of the whale hunt, even though its role is far less visible in the written record. While anthropologists were most interested in the ceremonial, social and work activities of the privileged classes, it was the support labor that processed, preserved, and prepared the whale products, as well as conducted the trade activities. People of extraordinary talent in any of these activities were recognized and recompensed by those of higher social status. These people of talent, when combined with a high status chief, resulted in a longhouse with a reputation for great things.

Therefore, whale hunting provided more than a means of organizing social groups within a longhouse; the whale hunt also provided a mechanism by which longhouses in a single village related to each other. Accumulated ceremonial and economic wealth often provided a means to rank the whalers, or headman, vis a vis each other. This ranked order precipitated to the residents of each longhouse. In effect, whaling generated a social dynamic which ranked all Makah individuals within a residence group, a longhouse. The practice also generated a social dynamic which ranked all Makah individuals in relation to the inhabitants of all other longhouses. Whaling was the warp and the woof of Makah society.

In addition to providing the whalers with ceremonial privileges, and Makah society with a governing principle and a means to subsistence security, the Makah populace received other benefits from whale hunts. These benefits included, but were not limited to the following:

1. Whale products such as blubber and oil proved an important source of trade goods. The Makahs served as the middlemen in a huge trade network. Because of their geographical advantage, Makahs operated a critical position in a network which functioned north and south along the Pacific Coast, as well as from the Pacific Coast to the Puget Sound (Swan 1870, Renker and Gunther 1990, Renker 1994). Whale products insured that the Makah people enjoyed a high standard of living with diversified interests (Huelsbeck 1988).

2. Whale products provided a substantial food resource for the Makah people. Early archaeological studies indicate that as much as 84.6% of the Makah pre-contact diet could have been composed of whale meat, oil and other food products (Huelsbeck 1983:43). Recent collaborative efforts between Dr. Huelsbeck and marine biologists have resulted in an adjustment to this early statistic. The projected size of the gray whales found at the Ozette site was too conservative; the mammals could easily have provided 100% of the food for the Makah Tribe (Huelsbeck 1995: personal communication). Clearly, whale products fulfilled important subsistence functions. In addition to nutrition, 25% of bone tools found at Ozette were made from whale bone.

3. The skills needed to hunt whales on the open ocean easily

transferred to Makah offshore activities, including deep water and interceptive fisheries and seal hunting. These pursuits provided additional sources of trade items and food.

4. Ceremonies needed to prepare whalers and their respective families for the hunt provided the Makah culture with a social framework that contributed to governmental, social, and spiritual stability.

The four cultural points articulated here have corollaries in the modern world. In relation to trade, the Makah Tribe signed an agreement with the United States Government which restricted the sale of whale products which were generated from whales harvested under the IWC quota. This agreement does not restrict Makahs from utilizing the subsistence-based redistribution networks that already existed within the reservation. Data clearly indicate the presence of localized networks that aid in the redistribution of whale products, particularly to family members who were not adept at processing and preparing whale themselves (Renker 1988, Aradanas 2001, Renker 2002).

Whale products have become a significant food resource for modern Makahs, in spite of the fact that only one whale has so far been successfully hunted during the first IWC quota period. In fact, a drift whale which washed ashore in an isolated part of Makah territory, was butchered and distributed to over 100 Makah households during the summer of 2001. This event is significant because the increasing Makah demand for whale products motivated more Makahs to utilize the drift whale, and return the meat, blubber, bone, and other parts to Neah Bay by boat. Since the whale was located on a remote beach with no road access, a small fleet of boats ferried whale parts from the beach to the boats, then back to Makah households.

Makahs are utilizing whale food products such as meat, blubber, and blubber rendered into oil, as well as other whale parts not as well known to non-Makahs: eyes, brain, heart, cheeks (the Makah reference to the jaw muscles and the fleshy area under the eyes), and the like. Modern Makahs have quickly rediscovered their ancestral appetite for whale products: 72.4% of surveyed households would like whale oil on a regular basis, 86.5% would like whale meat on a regular basis, and 55.8% would like blubber on a regular basis. Numerous survey respondents indicate a preference for sea mammal products for both traditional and health reasons (Renker 2002).

The significance of the whale as a food resource is also apparent when examining the variety of preparation methods in use on the Makah reservation. One might expect a paucity of recipes and techniques for preparing whale meat and blubber, given a seventy year gap in actuality. Instead, respondents provide the following data. Of the 61.3% of the respondents who received whale meat from the 1999 whale, 41.5% made jerky, 43.9% ate roasts, 41.5% cooked stew, 35.4% grilled steaks, and 34.1% smoked meat. 19.5% of respondents also indicated a preparation methods

other than those offered by the survey. These innovative methods included stir frying, kippering, deep frying, barbecuing, and boiling. Two respondents made whale burgers, and one created whale sausage. Of the remaining respondents who did not receive whale meat for their personal consumption, 84.7% indicated that they would have liked meat from the 1999 whale.

Of the 75.3% of respondents who prepared blubber, 22.4% smoked it, 37.9% rendered the blubber into oil, 6.9% pickled it, 48.3% boiled it, and 65.5% ate the blubber raw. An additional 3.4% of respondents used the blubber for cosmetic purposes. Several interview respondents did indicate that rendering the blubber from the 1999 whale posed problems because of a low concentration of fat in the animal (Renker 2002).

Whale oil is a particularly important commodity for the Makah people, and its precious nature increases its value. The rich oil is used the way many people use olive oil. In the Makah example, many people flavor dried or plain food, such as fish, fish eggs, potatoes, or bread, by dipping these foods into the whale oil. This use is a traditional one, and is mentioned in the earliest ethnographies, such as Swan (1869) and Densmore (1939). In addition, whale oil may be used in particular ceremonial and ritual activities. In one example, when thrown onto a roaring fire in the middle of a longhouse, the whale oil causes the fire to blaze up in a most extraordinary manner; this effect looks the same to modern Makahs as it did to their ancestors, increasing the spiritual connection between past and present.

The Household Whaling Survey attests to the significance of the whale as a food resource because of the large number of respondents who want additional information about processing and preparation techniques for whale products. Of 163 respondents, 70.6% wanted more information about preparing whale meat, 52.1% wanted to know more about butchering whale, 60.1% wanted information about rendering oil, and 59.5% wanted to know about smoking meat.

Modern Makahs also have an interest in whale bone as a raw material. 75.5% of Makah households report that they would like to have access to whale bone on a regular basis, and some people were disappointed that the bones of the 1999 whale were not made available to the community for private use. Instead, the Makah Tribal Council made an arrangement with the Neah Bay High School which provided vocational opportunities for high school students. The entire skeleton of the 1999 whale was given to the high school so that students would learn to clean and prepare the bones for reassembly and eventual display at the Makah Cultural and Research Center. The National Marine Fisheries Service, The Burke Museum, and the Denver Museum of Natural History are all additional participants in this ongoing project (Monette: personal communication: 2002). To date, some 40 Makah high school students have learned valuable vocational skills through the skeletal assembly project. Faunal assembly skills are in

demand in museums and laboratories throughout the United States.

Most importantly, contemporary Makahs insist on the ceremonial rigor and discipline that was so important to their ancestors. 38.7% of respondents in the Household Whaling Survey report that they have actively participated in whaling ceremonial practices since the 1999 whale was harvested, and that 21.6% of their household members are also active ceremonial participants. These figures are meaningful, given the seventy year hiatus in whale hunting, as well as the secretive atmosphere which surrounds these activities. The serious attention given to the ceremonial preparation requirements also acts as an indicator of the positive impact that the whale hunt has had on the social and behavioral aspects of Makah life (Renker 2002).

For example, early ethnographies (Swan 1869, Densmore 1939) as well as recent depictions of pre-contact life (Parker-Pascua 1991) mention the practice followed by whalers' wives of "laying still" with their backs to the ocean while their husbands were hunting whale. By following this practice, wives would spiritually connect with the whale in the ocean, causing it to "be still" on the water, and to swim toward, rather than away, from shore. In the successful 1999 hunt, wives, partners, and mothers of the crew followed this ceremonial practice, and two of these women were brought onto Front Beach in the ritual manner when the whale was brought ashore. Men do practice ceremonial preparations like bathing, but as in pre-contact and historic times, their exact activities are kept highly secret.

A Diachronic Account of Makah Whaling

The Ozette archaeological literature, especially the work of Huelsbeck (1983, 1988, 1988a, 1988b), attests to the considerable time depth and continuity of the Makah whale hunt. Prior to contact with non-Indians, the Makahs and their **nu.ca.nu.**= relatives hunted whale successfully for at least 1200 years without destroying the resource. Ceremonial, social and cultural proscriptions established a functional balance between the Makahs and the whale populations which swam in or through Makah waters.

Once non-Indian traders and explorers entered the waters of the Pacific Northwest, Makah whale hunters felt the effects of an increasing demand for whale products. In response, Makahs continued to ply their well established trade in whale oil and whale products with the visitors.

The regularity and size of the gray whale migration attracted whalers from the United States and Europe. Like the Makahs, other non-Indian whale hunters appreciated the opportunity to practice offshore whaling in the area, as opposed to the more expensive, more protracted, multi-year ocean voyages. "As the market for whale oil and dogfish oil increased in the 1840s and 1850s, the Makah brought oil for sale...Oil purchased from the Indians was a major export of the Hudson's Bay Company" (Lane

1955:17). By 1852, Makahs were trading or selling some 20,000 gallons of whale and fish oil (Lane 1955:18); this figure would rise to 30,000 gallons per annum within 20 years (Gibbs 1877:175).

In 1854, Capt. Charles M. Scammon discovered the breeding grounds of the gray whale in the lagoons of Baja California and Mexico (Hagelund 1987:42-43); this discovery now provided the two terminal points for the gray whale trek, and helped to increase the exploitation of the gray whale on the American Pacific coast.

As time passed and contact with non-Indians increased, other entities intruded into Makah life, and by extension, into the whale hunting complex. Governor Stevens, assigned by the United States' government to negotiate a Treaty with the Makah in 1855, knew of the commercial value of Makah whale hunting talents when the Treaty of Neah Bay was signed. Indeed, numerous Makahs made speeches during the Treaty negotiations asking that the right to whale be reserved to them when the Treaty was signed. These Makah negotiators, and Gov. Stevens, agreed that Article IV. of the Treaty of Neah Bay would specifically list whaling, along with sealing and taking fish, as a right guaranteed to the Makah Tribe. Article IV. of the Treaty of Neah Bay makes Makahs unique among all United States' native tribes: Makahs are the only tribe whose right to hunt whales is recognized in a treaty with the government of the United States.

While the Treaty of Neah Bay preserved the Makah right to hunt whales and seals, and to fish in usual and accustomed grounds, other federal interactions with the Makah did not seem to support this language in actuality. Assistance sent to the Makahs contained agricultural tools, rather than items which supported any of the active components of the Makahs' maritime lifestyle. Instead of tools and materials which would help to procure, process or preserve whale, seal or fish products, Makahs received pitchforks, scythes, hoes, and sickles. "James Swan reported in 1862 that the Makahs had converted the tines of pitchforks into fishhooks, scythes into blubber knives, and sickles into arrowheads" (Marr 1987:29). The Makah reaction to the agricultural materials is perfectly understandable given their splendid maritime talents and the fact that Makah land was obviously unsuited to cultivation (Whitner 1977, Renker and Gunther 1990).

Rather, the motives of the United States are suspect. While soil studies may have been unsophisticated in the mid-nineteenth century in the Pacific Northwest, it took little effort to realize that the soil, vegetation, and topography of the coastal area was unlike the rich agricultural belts in other parts of the country, such as the Plains and the Northeast. Indeed, the land on the Makah reservation was clearly different from that of the Washington territory east of the Cascade Mountains.

This bizarre situation developed because of prevailing ideas regarding federal Indian policy; it had been developed with a very different perspective. The United States government did not

want to encourage self-sufficiency, because self-sufficiency often encouraged hunters and gatherers to travel beyond the confines of the established reservations, and to maintain cultural practices considered savage and barbarous. The best way to force a sedentary existence on a group of hunters and gatherers was to make the group dependent upon agriculture, which required a fixed resource base. The singular nature of this policy was also inappropriate for the Makahs, who already had a fixed, plentiful marine resource base and no land suitable for agriculture.

A philosophical mandate accompanied this strategy. "One of the convictions of those associated with the administration of Indian affairs, both officially and informally, was that farming was associated with civilization" (Whitner 1977:21). In the Makah case, Indian policy was designed "to change the Makahs from self-sufficient food gatherers to farmers, dependent on the white people for tools and instruction" (Marr 1987:29). Indian policy was also designed to assimilate Makah people through an educational system that ignored Makah priorities and prohibited the use of the language, in addition to eradicating customs considered heathen, savage, and dangerous (Colson 1953, Gillis 1974, Whitner 1977, Renker and Gunther 1990).

Whitner (1977) reports that Indian Agency personnel were somewhat daunted by the task of civilizing the Makahs, and cites Henry A Webster, the first resident Indian agent, as writing in 1866, "The Makah are probably nearer the normal state of savage wilderness than any other tribe in the Territory, and seem particularly averse to acquiring the habits and customs of the whites" (in Whitner 1977:20). Little progress is recorded in Webster's Annual Report for 1867, though he is staunch in his resolve to eradicate traditional values and practices:

> Their very natures must, however, be changed, and their habits forced, if necessary upon them, or they will retrograde into worse than savage supremacy of filth and disease of former days (ARCIA 1867).

In spite of the Treaty's recognition of whale hunting as an important facet of Makah life, the United States government chose not to support this well-developed practice. Lane (1974) discusses the frustration of several resident Indian agents who realized that federal efforts should be promoting marine activities, rather than agriculture. Some agents believed that assimilating Makahs to American values, customs, and practices would be easier if the government aided traditional marine pursuits.

Lane documents numerous requests for support of fishing activities from 1860-1881 from agents and superintendents. Regardless of the nature of these requests, Lane concludes that "the United States failed to provide the assistance repeatedly requested" (1974:20). Gillis (1974), Lane (1974), Whitner (1977), and Marr (1987) discuss the circumstances surrounding the federal government's promotion of a shift in Makah subsistence from a maritime base to an agricultural one.

In 1870, President Grant's annual message announced an Indian policy which sought to "Christianize and civilize the Indian" (Whitner 1977:18). At this same time, Pacific whale populations were diminishing, and the Makahs who continued to whale hunt had to make adjustments. Singh (1956) and Van Arsdell (1987) indicate that Makahs increased their seal hunting efforts to compensate for a less profitable whale hunt. "Beginning in 1886, Makah crews were hired on sloops and schooners to hunt fur seal off the Washington coast and Vancouver Island (Marr 1987:29). Makah fur seal hunters easily demonstrated their pelagic talents and Makahs quickly used financial profits and exceptional skill to their advantage. Colson (1953:159) reports that "several Makah sealers had their own schooners and were hiring White navigators in the 1890s".

These changes greatly affected traditional subsistence and trading practices. Swan (1884-1887, 2:396) and Waterman (1920:48) both express opinions that the success of Makah fur sealing had an impact on the whale hunt. "This work was so profitable that the Makah temporarily abandoned whale hunting" (Renker and Gunther 1990: 428). Other historians agree. "By 1891, sealing became so lucrative for the Makah and Westcoast native hunters that their traditional whaling expeditions virtually ceased" (Webb 1988:145). A friend of A.W. Smith lamented the decline of the whaling culture in a letter written on 29 November 1888, "Many of our old whalers at Neah Bay have died since we left" (AW Smith Papers).

While the Makah enjoyed the prosperity brought on by their pelagic success, the Pacific fur seal population was showing signs of stress by 1890. The population could not sustain itself in the face of an increasing number of sealers and the use of firearms. The Law of December 30, 1897, made fur sealing illegal; the agent for the Neah Bay agency, Samuel Morse, was directed to enforce this law on the Makah reservation (AW Smith Papers). Accordingly, Makahs would now be allowed to hunt fur seal only from canoes, using traditional gear and techniques. "Some returned to traditional whaling" (Renker and Gunther 1990:428), but the loss of cash from the commercial fur seal hunt created a huge vacuum on the reservation.

While whale hunts were "still the symbolic heart of the culture" (Marr 1987:25), they continued to diminish in frequency, and became less and less cost-effective. In addition, the introduction of American values worked against the traditional subsistence pursuit. For example, the American philosophy of

social equality made it difficult for Makahs to continue to staff and organize whaling canoes, and therefore households, according to the ancestral patterns. Whale hunting was no longer the sole avenue to a position of ceremonial and political importance as the headman of a large longhouse.

Epidemics, bans on ceremonial activities, and the federal schooling system also produced devastating effects on the Makah's ability to resume whale hunting after the fur sealing ban. The diseases that affected the Makah population had reduced the number of tribal members by some 75% by 1890 (Boyd 1990:145); much family-owned information was lost as a result. Makahs died without passing down important knowledge. Hancock describes the rapid and disastrous effects of the smallpox epidemic of 1853 in his journal. This epidemic was so severe, it literally wiped the village of **bi?id?a** from the face of the earth.

> It was truly shocking to witness the ravages of this disease here at Neaah (sic) Bay... In a few weeks from the introduction of the disease, hundreds of natives became victims to it, the beach for a distance of eight miles was literally strewn with the dead bodies of these people, presenting a most disgusting spectacle (182).

The extreme number of fatalities caused by the epidemics also disrupted the line of authority in most families. Cultural protocol dictated that ownership of ceremonial and economic rights and privileges had to be transmitted publicly at a potlatch. In many cases, epidemics took the lives of people who had not transmitted control over ceremonial and economic privileges to another person. In many other cases, knowledge of critical components of rituals and ceremonies was abruptly lost. The complicated social structure and ritual life which had existed prior to contact was severely disrupted by the decimation of the Makah population.

The governmental ban on traditional and ceremonial activities added to the social and cultural disruption. Potlatches were illegal by the 1870s (Marr 1987:50), forcing Makahs to move off the reservation or to inaccessible places to hold these important public events. Daniel Dorchester, Superintendent of the Indian Service wrote the following about Agent McGlinn, stationed on the Makah Reservation in 1890:

> This is one of the best officers I have seen in the Indian Service. He knows the Indians remarkably well, understands his business thoroughly, and sticks closely to it. He strictly enforces the regulations of the Department, is breaking up old Indian

> customs, marries the Indians in due forms and records the marriage, and is very strict against intemperance and licentiousness.
>
> The Indians are quite industrious in their way, though rather spasmodic in their labors. They have seasons for berrying, hunting and fishing, and are as dirty and squalid as all fish Indians are. They earn a great deal of money, but have a potlatch system, in which they give away a large amount of money and other articles in feasts... Agent McGlinn is breaking up this custom (ARCIA 1890).

Without the potlatch, the Makahs could not establish important proprietary rights regarding ownership of dances, songs, and other ceremonial and economic privileges. Public transmission of these and other important events for the oral history record could not take place, causing an additional level of social and cultural disruption.

Secret societies were also banned. These complex organizations carried important social functions prior to federal interference. Some secret societies were responsible for healing the sick, while others were important for maintaining social order and punishing transgressors (Ernst 1952). Regardless of the internal function that secret societies served for Makah society and culture, the federal government viewed these activities as savage and demoralizing (Whitner 1977, Marr 1987).

Dances and customs associated with secret societies and winter ceremonials fueled the federal opinion that boarding schools were the only way to eradicate ancestral practices which offended the American sense of morality and decorum. Agents realized that one way to assimilate Makahs and eradicate offensive rituals was to interrupt the transmission of ancestral information within what remained of Makah families. One way they achieved this objective was by separating Makah children from the influence of their family via the use of boarding school. Whitner (1977:28) quotes agent C.A. Huntington as writing, "If the purpose be to civilize these children of darkness, to take them from a barbarous life and put them into a civilized life, the more divorced from the house of their childhood the better".

The United States' policy of assimilation through education increased the socio-cultural confusion. In their attempts to "Kill the Indian but save the man", white educators forced Makah children to leave their families, abandon the Makah language, and adopt white ways of eating, dress, worship, and behavior. Many Makahs who underwent this cultural indoctrination began to feel that traditional activities and beliefs were barbaric, and worked to make their lives more like the non-Indian teachers and

administrators who promised modern education, health care and facilities.

In addition to these internal socio-cultural factors, other factors prevented whale hunting from returning to its former prominence. The gray and humpback whale populations were being seriously depleted by non-Makah hunting practices. The population of gray whales was reduced by non-Makah commercial hunters, making offshore hunting in canoes more difficult. Since the Makah style of offshore whaling relied on the ability of land-based lookouts to spot whales which swam close to shore, a lack of these whales effectively decreased the viability of the Makah whale hunt. Only three recorded whale hunts took place during 1905 (AW Smith Papers).

Men could no longer rest assured that the whales would be plentiful, and that canoes at the ready would be called to a hunt by a lookout. In addition, the intensive investment required by a whaler and his crew had not changed; men still had to invest enormous amounts of time in ritual preparation as well as in the care and maintenance of the whaling canoe and other associated gear. Without the plentiful supply of whales which had always graced Makah territory, this intensive investment became too difficult to justify.

So, men turned to a more productive venture that would still make use of the navigation and seafaring skills that both whale and seal hunters needed and used. Fishing had become a more cost effective venture than whaling prior to the turn of the last century.

> The Makahs catch a great many fish, which they ship three times a week to Seattle, where they have a good market for them. They have caught and shipped as high as 10,000 pounds of halibut in one day (ARCIA 1889).

However, offshore whaling in motorized boats was still of interest to American, Canadian, European and Asian parties. As late as 1909, a Seattle based company was considering the establishment of a commercial whaling station at Neah Bay (Webb 1988:177). Plans for the Neah Bay station were eventually abandoned.

After more than a thousand years as whale hunters, Makahs found themselves in a social, ecological and political climate that no longer favored this pursuit. The combined effects of massive epidemics, boarding schools, and government acculturation policies had drastically changed the delicate and complex social dynamic which had supported the traditional Makah whale hunt. The astounding success, then eradication, of the Makah commercial fur seal hunt contributed to this disruption as well. When these two factors are juxtaposed with severely diminishing gray

and humpback populations, even subsistence whale hunts became a risky investment. The investment in the Makah whale hunt became even riskier as more Makahs shifted toward the very successful subsistence and commercial venture of ocean fishing.

In spite of these factors, the Makah desire to reinvigorate the whaling tradition never dissipated. Families passed on whaling stories, traditions, and secrets from generation to generation. Whaling designs and crests still decorated public buildings and private homes. Accounts of Makah whalers were read again and again. Whaling displays in the Makah Cultural and Research Center and other museums kept visual scenes in the heads and hearts of Makah people. By 1994, the gray whale population had bounded back to healthy levels; the people in Neah Bay eagerly awaited the opportunity to hunt gray whales again.

THE QUOTA PERIOD

The Makah Tribe has been preparing for this revitalization for decades. Makah people never stopped educating their children about their respective familial whaling traditions. Makah children in the public school on the reservation experienced whaling curriculum every year as a part of the standard school curriculum, as well as through special cultural and linguistic initiatives sponsored by the school district, the Tribe, or any one of a number of funding sources. In fact, collaborative educational efforts through the Makah Cultural and Research Center, the Bilingual program of the Neah Bay School, and other private efforts, have provided whaling curriculum in the schools since the 1960s, with continuous efforts since 1981. While non-Makahs perceived a large temporal gap in the whaling history of the Tribe, tribal members see continuity. Many individuals were patiently waiting for the whaling traditions to be taken from storage and implemented in reality.

The Makah Tribe already has a history of successfully reviving cultural traditions. In the last two decades, the Makah Tribe has reinstituted numerous song, dance, and artistic traditions, and operated a program to restore the Makah language to spoken proficiency on the reservation. These positive accomplishments are due to the enthusiasm, dedication, and knowledge of Makah people, and to the creation of the Makah Cultural and Research Center; this institution manages the cultural resources of the Makah Nation through research, documentation, exhibition and education.

The Makah Tribe created The Makah Cultural and Research Center (MCRC) in response to the massive archaeological collection generated by the Ozette excavation. While the original intent was to create a museum to house the artifacts from the pre-contact levels at Ozette, community opinions shaped the MCRC into a research and education complex that contains numerous exhibition galleries, a language restoration project, archival programs, and a series of educational and interpretive services (Renker and Arnold 1988).

The MCRC has been instrumental in the revival of many Makah traditions. The facility has acted to centralize and incorporate the resources of Tribal government, the Makah community, and other private and public sources to manage Makah cultural resources; many of the resources and traditions that were threatened prior to the creation of the MCRC are now healthy and growing. Consequently, the Makah Tribe had a successful record of bringing ancestral traditions from a dormant state into the active present. The Tribe was confident that the resumption of whaling would be a success, and was not daunted by critics who believed that this tradition could not be reinstated.

On May 17, 1999, the Makah Tribe celebrated a pivotal moment in its long history. At 6:54am, the Creator allowed a Makah crew to realize a collective dream that the Makah Nation had stored in its minds and hearts for seventy long years: they brought a whale home to the Tribe. This pivotal cultural event riveted the attention of the Makah community, and energized Makah Tribal members who believed in, and worked toward, the restoration of this significant cultural practice.

Survey data indicate that some 1200 Makahs watched the climactic moment of the successful hunt on live television. Hundreds of Makahs traveled home to the reservation as soon as they could, wanting to be a part of this significant event. Later that day, some 1400 Makahs welcomed the whale to Front Beach in Neah Bay, and paid honor to the great creature. Many Makahs ate raw blubber right on the spot, and then began the task of preparing the food and resources that the whale contributed to the Makah people.

Butchering the whale proved a huge task for the Makah people. Lack of familiarity with gray whale anatomy, tools which were not well adapted for gray whale meat and blubber, and logistical issues presented immediate obstacles for the butchering process which began on Front Beach. Some confusion also centered on whale parts other than meat and blubber. Most importantly, Makah were able to overcome these problems and continue with the job of processing the whale.

In a matter of hours, a flatbed truck had taken what was left of the whale and driven to the Makah Tribe's fish plant, a processing plant with 800 cubic feet of freezer space and a service entrance large enough to allow the flatbed to drive inside. Within twenty-four hours, Front Beach showed no sign of the momentous event which had happened the previous day. The Makah butchering crew, which included Makahs who had travelled to Alaska to learn processing techniques, had some assistance from a Native Alaskan. Many people worked to butcher the parts of the whale which had not been distributed to Tribal members on the night of 17 May. In addition to meat and blubber, Makahs interviewed during the Makah Household Survey reported requesting and receiving whale lice, sinew, baleen, brain, and heart. Other Makahs reported that they would have liked to receive liver,

cheeks, eyes, and intestines. Some of these items, like whale lice and baleen, are primarily used for ceremonial reasons, while others, can be used in tool production or as food. The bulk of the food products derived from the whale were reserved for the Tribe's celebratory feast, which was to be held on 22 May.

In private homes, people welcomed whale meat, blubber, and other whale parts. Between 17 May and 22 May, some households began to use recipes held in family confidence for decades, and others experimented with techniques used for other sea creatures, like seals and fish. Some 62.9% of Makah households received meat from this whale; 48.4% received blubber. A majority of households which did not receive meat or blubber from this whale reported that they would have welcomed whale products into their homes (Renker 2002).

On 22 May 1999, the Makah Tribe paid tribute to the whale which provided so much to the Tribe, and celebrated a new chapter in its cultural history. Thousands of people attended the parade held during the day, and the feast held in the high school gymnasium later that afternoon. In addition to the local Makahs who attended these events, many Makahs journeyed home to participate.

Unfortunately, this has been the only successful hunt during the quota period. Restrictions on the areas in which Makahs could hunt gray whales, as well as limits on when the hunt could take place hampered efforts to take additional whales as provided by the quota. Further constraints arose from a lawsuit which resulted from a complaint filed in 1997 October. This domestic legal issue halted all Makah whaling for the latter half of 2000 and all of 2001.

Lawsuits were not the only problem that faced the Makah Tribe during this quota period. Four Tribal members alleged that the majority of Makahs were not in favor of the resumption of whaling, and that the Makah Tribal Council had misrepresented the opinion of its people. Fueled by these rumors, anti-whaling advocates staged numerous demonstrations on and off the reservation, and garnered attention from the print and visual media. These efforts also limited the success of the Makah hunt by blocking canoes, scaring whales, and threatening Makah whalers. During the 1999 whaling season, many television spots and published reports contained inaccurate or partially correct information, and included quotes from the anti-whaling Makahs who insisted that the majority of Tribal members did not want the Tribe to hunt whales. These people also accused Makahs of wasting whale products, claiming that tribal members did not like, nor consume whale products. Detractors pointed to alleged wasted meat and blubber from a 1995 whale which was incidentally caught in a fishing net.

Despite these obstacles, more and more Makah men trained to be whale hunters. During the last hunting season prior to the 9 June 2000 court decision, several family-based whaling crews were

preparing to hunt, and two family-based crews were granted a total of three permits to go hunting by the local management organization. While no crew brought a whale back to the village, the social benefits of each crew's diligent preparations positively affected dozens of families.

The Makah Reservation in 2002

The contemporary Makah Tribe lives on a 27,151 acre reservation which dominates the northwestern corner of the Olympic Peninsula of Washington State. Other reservation properties include two offshore islands, Tatoosh and Waadah, and a 719 acre parcel of land surrounding the Ozette village site. In addition to these land areas, Makah traditional cultural properties include water territories, like fishing banks, as well (Renker and Pascua 1989). At the time of the Treaty of Neah Bay, Makah traditional cultural properties extended to fishing banks and other ocean grounds as much as 100 miles offshore into the Pacific Ocean. To the north, Makah fisherman accessed rich fishing grounds which are now in Canadian waters, such as Swiftshore and 40-Mile Bank. To the east, Makahs considered the the Strait of Juan de Fuca to be at their disposal to Port Crescent. To the south, Makahs utilized the waters off of Cape Johnson, called **xacic'u?a.** "deep hole". (Swindell 1941, Renker and Pascua 1989).

In 1855, the Tribe signed the Treaty of Neah Bay, which established the boundaries of the reservation but did not recognize the multiple village system. Men negotiating for the Tribe discussed the Makah relationship with the ocean; the Tribe considered the ocean to be territory more important than land. **c'aqa.wi7**, one of these Makah chiefs, articulated this point. "I want the sea. That is my country" (Gibbs 1855). The Indian Claims Commission estimates that "seventy-five to ninety percent of the Tribe's subsistence in 1855 came from the sea rather than land based-mammals or vegetation" (Makah Indian Tribe v. United States, 23 Ind. Cl. Comm. 165, 174 (1970).

Subsequent expansion of the reservation boundaries to include villages other than Neah Bay occurred in 1872 and 1873 via three Executive Orders issued by the United States' government. The village of Ozette was not added to the reservation. Rather, another Executive Order in 1893 created a separate Ozette Reservation to accommodate 64 Makahs who refused to move to Neah Bay (Renker 1994). Today, the Makah Tribal Council is the official governing body of both the Makah Reservation and the Ozette Reservation; the United States Congress ratified the Makah Constitution in 1937 after the Tribe voted to accept the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1936 (Renker 1994).

The Makah Tribe calls itself **q*idicca?a.tx**, "The People Who Live Near the Rocks and the Seagulls". The name Makah is an English version of the term used by a neighboring Tribe for the Makahs. United States' year 2000 census data indicate that there are 1,356 Makahs living in 471 households on the current

reservation. Another 1,117 Makahs live away from the reservation (Makah Planning Office 2002). Most reservation residents live in the reservation's single centralized village, Neah Bay, location of the public school, the post office, the general store, the health clinic, and other amenities. While Neah Bay is certainly the hub of reservation activity, a growing population and a housing shortage have encouraged Tribal members to live in more remote reservation locations. Two popular settlements outside Neah Bay are at the sites of former ancestral villages, such as **wa?ac'** (Why-atch) and **c'u.yas** (Tsoo-yess).

Like other locations on the Olympic Peninsula, economic conditions on the reservation have steadily declined since 1989. The Pacific salmon crisis and controversies surrounding timber practices in the area have increased the economic pressure on the reservation population. In addition, the 1989 deactivation of the United States' Air Force Base operating on the Makah Reservation created an employment crisis for the Makah community. Approximately 200 jobs left the reservation when the base closed, and plans to develop a new job source have not yet proved fruitful. In addition, fluctuations in the reservation's natural resources, commercial fishing, tourism, and sport fishing have impaired the Tribe's ability to ensure reliable incomes and subsistence sources for its members. The average unemployment rate on the reservation is approximately 51%, and fluctuates seasonally; almost 49% of reservation households have incomes classified below the federal poverty level, and 59% of the housing units are considered to be substandard (Makah Planning Office 1992). The average household income on the reservation is approximately $5,000.00, compared with approximately $40,000.00 in the rest of the state of Washington (Income 2000, US Census Bureau).

Fishing variations have had an especially drastic effect on Makah families. 85.2% of Makah households have someone in the residence who fishes; 62.8% of these households consider fishing to be the major occupation in the home (Renker 1988). While the decrease in the cash economy of the reservation is a clear result in years of diminished commercial fishing, there is a more insidious affect on the subsistence level.

Ocean fishing has replaced whale hunting as the backbone of Makah household economy. In addition to the cash that fishing generates, another level of economy operates, that of traditional reciprocal systems. Even households without a fisherman derive food, money or other goods from a fisherman who is a relative or a friend. Fish is a medium of exchange on the Makah reservation, and is also an indicator of a fisherman's regard for the individual to whom the fish is given. Indeed, people on the reservation rely on the Makah fleet for substantial contributions to community meals and community functions.

100% of the Makah households on the reservation engage in some kind of reciprocal networks which involve fish at some level of exchange: 80.4% of households receive fish from someone who

fishes; 85.3% of households give fish to other family members, friends and community meals; 84.1% of households who smoke fish give it to other family members, friends and community meals; and 35.3% of households receive goods or money from a fisherman when the season is successful (Renker 1988:8).

The 1988 Makah Household Fishing Survey also uncovered another pattern of interest in the Makah community. Over 50% of the reservation households used traditional Makah foods at least once a week; these foods included items like fermented salmon eggs, smoked fish heads and backbones, halibut cheeks and gills, and dried fish (8). 40.2% of Makah households eat fish a few times each week, and 66.7% eat fish at least once each week. These data demonstrate the community's preference for and reliance upon traditional, local, marine foods which are often not favored by the dominant American population.

Recent research available in Aradanas (2001) demonstrates the tenacity of the 1988 subsistence profile. The Makah reliance on seafood products continues to be derived from subsistence traditions, and the existence of redistributive and reciprocal networks remains strong. One striking datum compares the amount of fish consumed in Makah households with that of the average American household. The annual per capita consumption of fin fish and shellfish for the average Makah is a staggering 126 pounds, some eight times the consumption rate for the average American. While fish comprises 55% of the Makah diet, it represents only 7% of the diet of the average American (84).

Recent regulatory and ecological circumstances have had an impact on Makah marine subsistence practices. New, stringent restrictions on salmon fishing, and the yearly fluctuations in fishing quotas, restrict the ability of Makah fisherman to generate a reliable surplus for distribution. This situation has affected many households which rely on surplus fish to meet subsistence needs.

Additional ecological circumstances periodically caused by red tides and oil spills have negatively affected subsistence households which rely on shellfish resources. These events have reduced the ability of Makahs to utilize the shellfish resource as effectively as in the past. Financial compensation awarded to Tribal members as a settlement for the destruction of subsistence shellfish during one of these oil spills can not restore the health of the ecosystem.

Still other factors are affecting subsistence issues pertinent to the Makah Tribe. The Makah Tribe, like many other governmental agencies, cut its operating budget by some 10%* for the 2002 operating year. Cutbacks in food and financial support from public assistance programs affects families which are already economically stressed.

Teen age pregnancies, high school drop outs, substance abuse problems, and an increasing juvenile crime rate indicate that the

Makah community is one still in flux: the enormous social disruption caused by epidemics, boarding schools, and federal policy is still not over. Entire social, cultural, subsistence, and ceremonial institutions were either repressed, eradicated or decimated, and no structural equivalent was substituted. Continuation of the Makah whale hunt would provide the Makah Tribe with a reliable mechanism to repair the damage done to the social infrastructure during the years of forced assimilation. Additional whale hunts would certainly bring important subsistence benefits, as well as other important social considerations.

The Household Whaling Survey (HWS)

As the end of 2001 drew near, the Makah Tribal Council began preparing to submit a request for a new gray whale quota. The Makah Tribal Council wanted to address the concerns of citizens who insisted that Makahs did not support whaling, and that whale products were being frivolously wasted. Clarifying and quantifying the sentiments of enrolled Tribal members was extremely important, so the Makah Tribal Council commissioned a household survey in December 2001. This survey, The Household Whaling Survey (Renker 2002) asked Makahs to report their opinions about the whale hunt, as well as levels of participation in whaling-related activities, including the preparation and consumption of whale products. A copy of the instrument is included in Appendix 2.

Results from the Household Whaling Survey (HWC) were interesting and conclusive. The survey interviewed 34.6% of the Makah households on the reservation. 49.7% of the respondents were male; 50.3% of the respondents were female. 100% of the respondents considered themselves active members of the reservation community, attending a variety of community events, both cultural and otherwise.

The 163 respondents reported information about a population of an additional 268 household members.

Of the 163 respondents, 93.3% believed that the Makah Tribe should continue to hunt whale, 5.5% believed that the Makah Tribe should not hunt whale, and 1.2% were undecided. Clearly, a randomly selected, significant percentage of respondents were supportive of the Makah Tribe's decision to pursue the Treaty Right of hunting a whale that is no longer on the Endangered Species List. It is also interesting to note that three of the respondents who do not want the Makah Tribe to hunt whale do want whale products, like meat, bone, and/or blubber.

When asked to state a reason for this belief, respondents provided a wide variety of opinions. (Because multiple responses were allowed for this question, the positive percentage is based on the number of respondents who answered positively, R= 152.) Of the respondents who felt that the Makah Tribe should continue to hunt whale, 46.1% cited the Treaty Rights as the reason, 35.5%

noted that food, better nutrition, or a traditional diet was the reason, and 36.2% felt that maintaining or restoring some aspect of cultural heritage or tradition was the most important reason. 20.4% indicated that moral or spiritual benefits, such as changed lifestyle, better discipline, or increased pride , should prompt the Makah Tribe to continue to whale.

Respondents also provided a variety of multiple responses to the question, "Do you think whale hunting has been a positive thing for the Tribe?". The most popular response was given by 51.6% of the respondents, who indicated a change for the better in morals or social values: pride, self-esteem, changing lifestyles, abstaining from drugs and alcohol, better male responsibility, and positive role models for youth. 43.8% of respondents considered uniting the Makah Tribe, and other Tribes, as the most positive aspect of whale hunting. Respecting Treaty Rights garnered a response from 25.5% of the respondents, while maintaining or restoring cultural traditions was the reason provided by 32.7% of the respondents.

A surprising number of individuals reported that they were involved in whaling-related activities since the 1999 whale was caught. 38.7% of respondents indicated that they have participated in whaling ceremonial activities, 30.1% have cooked whale, and a resounding 81% reported eating whale products. Respondents related that 70.9% of the household members included in the study ate whale products, and that 21.6% participated in whaling ceremonial activities.

Another significant result that demonstrates overwhelming community support for the Makah whale hunt is found in the question (#45) which asks respondents to indicate subjects about which they would like more information. The majority of respondents wanted information about preparing whale products, and cleaning and carving whale bone. This question also elicited a response that was not planned. 25% of respondents indicated that they would like to share family recipes and techniques for preparing whale meat, rendering oil, and butchering whale. Given the history of secret, family information regarding whale related issues in the Makah Tribe, the fact that respondents volunteered to provide knowledge of practices, techniques, and recipes is a testament to the community's support for the continued use of whale products.

Community support for, and interest in, the Makah whale hunt is also shown by reports of participation in the actual events surrounding the successful 1999 hunt. Of the 163 respondents, 78.5% were watching live television when the whale was taken, as were 67.2% of the respondents' household members. 81.6% of the 163 respondents were present at Front Beach in Neah Bay when the whale was brought ashore, as were 87.6% of the household members. Numerous respondents who did not attend either of these events qualified their response by telling the surveyor that they had to work or were out of town, and would have attended had they been in Neah Bay.

Sixty-four respondents reported that a total of 226 non-resident Makahs billeted in their respective homes from 17 May to 22 May 1999. This datum indicates that Makah support for the whale hunt is not restricted to reservation residents. The Makahs who traveled home to the reservation felt the need to be on ancestral territory, with relatives and friends, and be a witness to the crucial events surrounding the successful whale hunt.
80.4% of the 163 respondents reported attending the Makah Tribe's celebration in honor of the first successful whale hunt in seventy years. 78.6% of these respondents attended the parade early in the day on 22 May, and 95.4% attended the feast later that afternoon. These respondents indicated that 180 (67.2%) of their household members went to the parade, and 191 (71.3%) joined the crowds at the dinner. Levels of participation like those reported here suggest the pride and happiness felt by Makahs who were observing more than the successful hunt; they were celebrating the validation of the traditions and priorities established by ancestors and secured by the signers of the Treaty of 1855.

III. WHALE HUNTING AND THE MAKAH TRIBE: THE NUTRITION COMPONENT

Prior to contact with Europeans, the Makah people used a wide variety of foods. Because of their location on the tip of the Olympic Peninsula, the Tribe was able to exploit land and sea animals, including elk, deer, bear, seal, and a diverse population of fish, shellfish, and other maritime species. In spite of this abundance, "whale meat and oil were among their principal foods" (Densmore 1939:13). Not only were these foods of high status, their role in the nutrition and ceremony of the Makah people cannot be underestimated.

Huelsbeck (1988a:1) estimates that the amount of whale meat, blubber, and oil represented in the faunal assemblage at Ozette indicates that a significant percentage of the food at Ozette could have come from cetaceans. Whale meat was prone to spoil easily, especially when the process of towing a dead animal home took several days. This tendency reduced its importance in the precontact and early historic diet. About 10% of the food Makah people derived from whales can be attributed to meat (1988a:10). Oil however, was not subject to spoilage, and could be kept indefinitely as long as it was rendered properly (Swan 1869).

This important food product was recovered from natural pockets of oil within individual whales, as well as extracted from whale bones and rendered from blubber. Ommanney (1971:55) estimates that some 50% of whale bone weight could be reduced to oil. Faunal remains from Ozette indicate that bones were hacked and gouged to allow oil to both drip from the bones and to be recovered through boiling (Fiskin 1980). Blubber was primarily used as a vehicle to recover oil. Approximately 65% of the weight of blubber is reduced to oil through a rendering process (Huelsbeck 1988a:9).

Oil was an important nutritional item for a variety of reasons. Elders report that whale oil was used as a dip with a variety of foods, including dried fish and herring eggs, as well as potatoes in historic times. Swan(1869) and Densmore(1939) corroborate these accounts. Since dried fish and herring eggs had been processed to remove all natural oils in order to contribute to their longevity, the addition of whale oil added taste as well as nutrients to the precontact and historic Makah diet.

Oil was also the only nutritional product which figured prominently in the ceremonial life of the Makah people. An oil potlatch, given when a whaler had an abundance of oil, demonstrated his generosity with this commodity, and was a rare and special occurrence. Whale oil was the only edible item which could be the focus of a special potlatch, complete with particularized songs and other ceremonial items (Densmore 1939).

While blubber's importance in both precontact and early historic

times was clearly as a precursor to oil, "blubber was also eaten, usually cured first" (Densmore 1939:14). It was most popular when broiled next to a fire, and was the standard pacifier for babies, according to oral and ethnographic accounts.

For approximately 2,000 years, the Makah people relied on the nutritional products of the whale, and evolved as a biological population within this context. Archaeological data confirm the fact that Makah people were using whale as a food resource for some 750 years before the technique of hunting whale was developed (Wessen 1990). Faunal remains from a number of sites indicate that Makahs were butchering stranded or drift whales long before the technology to hunt the creatures evolved.

When circumstances prevented the procurement of whale products for subsistence, Makahs compensated by increasing their reliance on other subsistence foods. In spite of the changes that have affected the Makah people, subsistences foods are still an important part of reservation life. Makah hunters still procure land game like elk, deer, and bear to fill winter freezers and reduce cash expenditures. The resources of the sea and the intertidal zones are an important food source (Renker 1988), despite the decreasing abundance described previously.

Recent investigations focusing on the subsistence practices of the Makah Tribe in forest areas (Renker 1994) and the intertidal zone (1993) detailed a viable and thriving culture. Elders described the subsistence philosophy of the Makah people, and stressed the importance of teaching these values to younger people. Younger Makahs participating in these studies were familiar with these teachings, and practiced these subsistence rules when hunting or gathering food.

The most important subsistence strategy to the Makah people is the axiom, "Take only what you need." Makah elders emphasize this principle when the discussion centers on any type of hunting, gathering, or fishing activity (Renker 1993:14). Other common subsistence rules include: 1)choosing the procurement area so that the available biomass is not adversely affected by the amount one needs to harvest, 2) choosing the procurement area that limits the need to travel, and 3) choosing the food to hunt or gather based on the seasons of the food in question; one tries to avoid disturbing reproductive cycles, for example. The continuity of these subsistence practices and values reinforces the social and cultural integrity of the Makah people, and constantly reminds Tribal members of their intimate, and long standing, relationship with the environment.

These subsistence foods and practices are very important when considering the nutritional needs of contemporary Makah people. Modern research concentrating on the nutritional needs of an anthropologically defined population emphasizes " the interactions of genetics, physiological processes, population characteristics, and a wide variety of nutrition-related diseases" (Pelto 1989:x). Using these criteria, a discussion of

the profile of the Makah community yields interesting results when the focus is the use of the whale as food.

Consider the following. American Indian people are generally considered to be one of the most unhealthy populations living within the United States of America; this observation is especially true for natives living within the confines of a reservation. The infant mortality and life expectancy rate for reservation residents is the lowest of all American citizens (IHS 1995).

The diminished life expectancy on American Indian reservations is compounded by the fact that certain systemic illnesses linked to food and nutrition appear in statistically higher percentages among these populations. Diabetes, for example, is 234% more prevalent among American Indian people than in all other U.S. races (Indian Health Service 1995: 5). As a matter of fact, "American Indians have the highest rates of diabetes in the world" (NIH 1996:26).

A statistic of this magnitude is especially intriguing when one considers the nutritional history of indigenous American Tribes, and their respective divergence from the food traditions which mark western populations. Prior to contact with Europeans, North American Tribal people consumed foods which were native to their respective environments. Natives of the Great Plains and the Pacific Northwest were hunters and gatherers who utilized the plant and animal species which lived in and migrated through their territories. Natives of the Southwest and the Northeast augmented nature's bounty by cultivating crops, most of which were not available in Europe. (It is interesting to note that Makah people did not utilize plant foods to a great degree (Gill 1983), and still experience many digestive problems with diets high in fiber and cruciferous vegetables (IHS 1991).)

When traditional Tribal life was disrupted by contact with non-Natives, food traditions were some of the first to be affected. By the time the Treaties called for the forced placement of Tribal people on reservations in the 1850s, very few Tribes could still practice the subsistence patterns which had sustained their ancestors.

Hunting and gathering tribes were restricted because their ability to utilize former usual and accustomed resource areas was diminished; the reservation system made it possible for non-Native populations to acquire and control lands and waters once available to Tribes. Through Treaties, agricultural tribes lost valuable land capable of cultivation to non-Indian farmers, and were given less productive reservation land as compensation. Additional stresses on native food traditions appeared when the American westward expansion and growing commercial interests decimated food animals once plentiful before contact.

No matter what the individual Tribal food tradition, professionals in the health and social science fields appear to

agree that the introduction of western foods like refined sugar and flour, beef, and lard have had a dramatic negative effect on the health of American Tribal members in general. Many of these foods were distributed to reservation natives by the American government in the form of annuities and supplies. Specific studies have directly linked the introduction of western foods into the diet of Tribal entities to a variety of health problems (Hildes 1966:501, Keenleyside 1990:13, NIH 1996, and others).

American health organizations such as The National Institutes of Health (NIH), the National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, the Public Health Service, and the Department of Health and Human Services, are conducting research to try to determine why American Indian populations are subject to food related illnesses at a rate so much greater than the rest of the population. In many cases, reservation residents contract these illnesses at about half the age of Caucasians, according to the Indian Health Service (1995).

Many current studies are now investigating the link between genetics and the acquisition of nutrition related illness. The most important of these studies focuses on the Pima Indians of Arizona, a group with a food tradition dating back some 2,000 years; their traditional diet and lifestyle were disrupted about 200 years ago, causing major social and nutritional changes. The high rates of diabetes and obesity in this Tribe prompted the National Institutes of Health and several other American health organizations to undertake a long-term study of this population.

Thirty years of concerted studies with the Pima people have demonstrated results applicable to other Tribal people in North America, including the Makah. Research indicates that discrete populations evolve a genetic code that is uniquely suited to a particular environment and its food resources. This genetic code regulates the biochemical processes in the body that produce enzymes, proteins, fatty acids, and thousands of other chemicals which function within the human body. Scientists developing the genetic map for the Pima people have already identified a number of genetic variations within this community that are different from those in the white population (NIH 1996:6). These variations may explain why Pima people eating western foods are more prone to develop diabetes, obesity, and the long-term consequences of these health problems than other populations.

Like the Pima people, Makahs found their traditional pattern of food use interrupted by western contact about 200 years ago. The traditional diet rich in fish and sea mammal oils was gradually replaced by a western diet which considered beef, dairy products, and cereals to be the most nutritious. The whale products which once comprised a principal part of the diet were no longer available, and the whale oil which supplemented the preserved foods of the winter season was replaced by butter and margarine. A high proportion of lactose intolerance became apparent in the

Makah community, a fact not surprising for a population with no previous historic or cultural link to cattle or dairy animals (NIH 1996).

Given this perspective, certain IHS data become especially intriguing. For example, Indian people of the Northwest Coast have the highest rate of digestive illnesses of all American Indian people. Such illnesses comprise the leading cause of hospitalization for native people in this area. For northwest people, 16.5 % of all hospitalizations pertained to digestive diseases, compared to the next highest rate of 12.3% for Navajo people (Indian Health Service 1995). And, in terms of overall nutritional health, Makah and northwest people are at a potential genetic disadvantage because these populations evolved without a reliance on high fiber, low fat foods, like the Pimas.

Consequently, the reintroduction of whale products, especially whale oil, may produce dramatic results in the health of the Makah people. Current research in the importance and application of Essential Fatty Acids (EFAs), such as those found in sea mammals and fish oils, support the contention that the inclusion of whale oil in the Makah diet may have crucial implications for the health of the Makah community. This fact is not as surprising as it may seem when one considers the historic western use of products like cod liver oil as an important nutritional supplement.

For example, the Washington Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) details the fact that Makah children attending public school on the reservation exhibit Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD), Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), reading disabilities, and dyslexia at a rate almost twice that of the rest of the population (1996). Clinical studies which focused on the correlation between EFAs and these conditions report that children receiving supplemental EFAs demonstrate significant improvement in the ability to pay attention and read effectively (Stevens, Zentall, et al:1995; Stordy:1995).

In addition, marine EFAs have been clinically demonstrated to improve conditions like rheumatoid arthritis (Belch, Amsell, Madho, Dowd, and Sturrock:1988) and diabetic neuropathy (Keen, Payan, Walker,et al:1993). Both conditions are prevalent in the Makah community and especially within descendants of whaling families.

Whale oil and whale products may be the answer to these problems within the Makah community, and may provide researchers with an analogous study situation to that within the Pima community. Marine fish like salmon are becoming more scare within Makah households due to increasingly stringent quotas which disrupt traditional systems of reciprocity (Renker 1988). Consequently, access to whale products could provide Makahs with a nutritional remedy to many community health problems.

Access to whale products can provide the Makah community with important nutritional opportunities that carry implications for non-Makahs. Like their Pima counterparts, Makahs may be able to augment knowledge about the relationship between genetic patterns, nutrition, and health, especially in the area of EFAs. Community members are ready to rise to this challenge and re-learn the techniques necessary to make the food from the whale a part of Makah life again.

This section is not intended to imply that we can scientifically elucidate the nutritional advantages of whale products, especially oil, for the Makah Tribe. However, recent national studies provide some points of interest. Investigations of local populations with a demonstrable time depth indicate that regional genetic factors evolve in order to maximize the dynamic relationship between certain foods and the patterns in which these foods are consumed by subsistence populations. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that increasing the consumption of locally available foods consumed through the millenia could confer substantial health benefits.

Such is the case for whale products and the Makah Tribe. The food products of the gray whale have sustained the Makah people for over 2,000 years; the Tribe has been less culturally and physically healthy since this access was restricted seventy years ago. A restoration of the ability to hunt the gray whale will provide the Makah Tribe with a key element of its culture that has been able to exist only in the flickering images of oral history for seven decades. The social fabric of the community will be able to patch its thin areas once the hunt is restored, and the physical health of the Makahs will increase once there is enough whale meat and oil to feed its children.

In addition, the addition of whale products will help to replace other subsistence resources which are in decline. As fish and shellfish quantities decrease on the reservation, the availability of whale products will prevent people from having to spend precious cash to replace current subsistence foods.

The resumption of the whale hunt will provide more than subsistence foods for the body. It will provide spiritual subsistence to the soul of the Makah people.

APPENDIX 1

MAKAH ALPHABET

The Makah alphabet variation used in this document is a function of printer and software limitations. The Makah alphabet is a variation of the International Phonetic Alphabet, and is presented in Renker (1987). No capital letters are used in this alphabet.

The following substitutions are used:

= IS EQUIVALENT TO A BARRED L

7 IS EQUIVALENT TO A BARRED LAMBDA

* IS EQUIVALENT TO A RAISED W

' IS EQUIVALENT TO A GLOTTAL MARK

? IS EQUIVALENT TO A GLOTTAL STOP

. IS EQUIVALENT TO A LENGTH MARKER

APPENDIX 2

CONFIDENTIAL HOUSEHOLD WHALING SURVEY

This survey is commissioned and sanctioned by the Makah Tribal Council, and is being administered by the Makah Cultural and Research Center. The data from this survey will be used in creating the new Needs Statement. This document will be a part of the United States' request to provide the Makah Tribe with another five year quota to hunt gray whales; the request is made to the International Whaling Commission.

Your name and the information you provide are strictly confidential. No information you provide will be linked directly to you in the Needs Statement. In fact, the author of the Needs Statement will not even know who has answered these surveys.

The completed surveys will be sealed and placed in the Archives of the Makah Cultural and Research Center. Access to these documents will be restricted by the Makah Tribal Council.

The respondent for this survey must be a Makah who is 21 years of age or more. For the purposes of this survey, a household member is considered to be any person that is residing in your house at the time of this interview. This survey is interested in the Makah members of your household.

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR MAKAH HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS...

1. Are you Makah? Yes _____ No _____

   Age _____ Gender _____

2. Do you have any Makahs living in your household? Yes _____ No____

   How many?_____

   If yes, complete 2a. If no, skip to 3.

2a. List all Makahs by relationship, gender, and age.

3. Where were you born? _____

4. Do you attend Neah Bay village events? Yes _____ No_____

4a. If yes, please check all that apply.

Sporting Events _____

Community Dinners _____

Potlatches _____

Health Presentations _____

Makah Days Events _____

MTC Quarterly/Annual Meetings _____

Neah Bay K-12 School Events _____

Other (Please specify)_____

ABOUT YOUR MAKAH HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AND WHALING IN 1999...

5. Were you watching television when the 1999 whale was harpooned and killed?
Yes _____ No _____

6. Were any of your Makah household members watching TV when the 1999 whale was harpooned and killed?
Yes _____ No _____

7. If yes, how many Makah household members were watching TV when the 1999 whale was harpooned and killed?
_____

8. Were you on Front Beach, or in a boat/canoe on the water, when the 1999 whale was brought ashore?
Yes _____ No _____

9. Were any of your Makah household members on Front Beach or in a boat/canoe on the water, when the 1999 whale was brought ashore?
Yes _____ No _____

10. If yes, how many? _____

11. Did any Makahs who live off the reservation come to spend the night at your house from May 17, 1999, the night the whale came ashore, to May 22, 1999, the night of the Tribe's celebration?
Yes _____ No _____

12. If yes, how many non-resident Makahs spent the night at your house from May 17, 1999 till May 22, 1999.

_____

13. Did you attend the Makah Tribe's celebration of the 1999 whale on May 22, 1999?

Yes _____ No _____

14. If yes, which events? Check all that apply.

Parade _____

Dinner _____

15. If you attended the dinner, in which way did you participate? Check all that apply.

Attended the dinner _____

Helped butcher the whale_____

Helped cook the whale _____

Helped cook other items at the dinner _____

Helped serve at the dinner _____

Helped set up the gym _____

Helped decorate the gym _____

Sang at the dinner _____

Other (Please specify) _____

16. Did any of your Makah Household members attend the Makah Tribe's celebration of the 1999 whale on May 22, 1999?

Yes _____ No _____

17. If yes, how many Makah household members attended the Makah Tribe's celebration of the 1999 whale on May 22, 1999?_____

18. For each Makah household member, please check which events s/he attended. Check all that apply.

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Parade						
Dinner						

19 If Makah household members attended the dinner, in which way did each participate? Check all that apply.

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Attend the dinner						
Helped butcher the whale						
Helped cook the whale						
Helped cook other dinner items						
Helped serve at the dinner						
Helped set up the gym						
Sang at the dinner						
Other (Please specify)						

20. Did your household receive meat from the 1999 whale?
Yes_____ No_____

If no, skip to question 23.

21. What did you do with the meat? (Check all that apply.)

Prepare it _____

Redistribute it _____

other _____

22. If you prepared it, what did you do? (Check all that apply.)

Jerky _____

Roasts _____

Stew _____

Steaks _____

Smoked meat _____

Other (Please specify) _____

Now skip to question 24.

23. Would you have liked to get meat from this whale?
Yes _____ No _____

24. Did your household receive blubber from the 1999 whale?
Yes _____ No _____

If no, skip to question 27.

25. What did you do with the blubber? (Check all that apply.)

Prepare it _____

Redistribute it _____

Other _____

26. If you prepared it, what did you do? (Check all that apply.)

Smoked it _____

Rendered it _____

Ate it raw _____

Pickled it _____

Boiled it _____

Cosmetics _____

Other (Please specify.) _____

Now skip to question 28.

27. Would you have liked to receive blubber from the 1999 whale?
Yes _____ No _____

28. Did your household receive whale oil from someone as a result of the 1999 whale?
Yes _____ No _____

29. Did your household receive any other parts from the 1999 whale?
Yes _____ No _____

30. If yes, what parts did your household receive? What did you do with them?

31. Were there any other parts of the 1999 whale you would have liked your household to receive?
Yes _____ No _____

32. If yes, which ones?

ABOUT YOUR MAKAH HOUSEHOLD AND OTHER WHALING ACTIVITIES...

33. Would you like to have whale oil in your household on a regular basis?
Yes _____ No _____

34. Would you like to have whale meat in your household on a regular basis?
Yes _____ No _____

35. Would you like to have whale blubber in your household on a regular basis?
Yes _____ No _____

36. Would you like to have whale bone in your household on a regular basis?
Yes _____ No _____

37. Please check all whaling activities that you have been involved in since the 1999 whale was caught.

Member of whaling crew _____

Member of Whaling Commission _____

Butchering whale _____

Cooking whale _____

Smoking whale _____

Rendering oil_____

Eating whale products _____

Redistributing whale products to other Makahs_____

Participating in whaling ceremonial activities _____

Carving whale bone _____

Member of whaling support crew _____

Other (Please specify.) _____

38. Please check all whaling activities that any HH members have been involved in since the 1999 whale was caught. Please specify for each household member.

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Member of whaling crew						
Member of Whaling Commission						
Butchering whale						
Cooking whale						
Smoking whale						
Rendering oil						
Eating whale products						
Redistributing whale products						
Participating in whaling ceremonial activities						
Carving whale bone						

Member of whaling support crew

Other (Please specify.)

ABOUT YOUR OPINIONS REGARDING WHALE HUNTING...

39. Should the Tribe continue to hunt whale? Yes _____ No _____

40. What are the reasons for your answer?

41. If you answered yes to 39, do you think whale hunting has been a positive thing for the Tribe? Yes _____ No _____

42. What are your reasons for this answer?

43. Would you like to have more access to whale products in the future?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, go to 44. If no, go to 45.

44. Which whale products would you like more of in the future?

raw meat _____

meat cooked or preserved by someone else _____

raw blubber _____

whale oil _____

bone _____

other (specify) _____

45. Would you like more information about any of the following? Check all that apply.

Whale hunting _____

Cooking whale meat _____

Butchering whale _____

Rendering oil _____

Smoking meat _____

Cleaning whale bone _____

Carving whale bone _____

Other (Specify) _____

46. Are there any other comments you would like to make?

APPENDIX 3

MAKAH HOUSEHOLD SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey was administered by the Makah Cultural and Research Center, an institution with twenty-two years of experience conducting household surveys on the Makah Reservation. The author of the instrument conducted numerous household surveys in the Makah community over the last twenty-two years; each of these surveys employed the same methodology. Results were tabulated and analyzed by the developer of the survey instrument.

In order to conduct the most accurate survey possible, the Household Whaling Survey is based on the following:

1. Names of households to be surveyed were drawn randomly from the Makah Tribe's Turkey Distribution List. This list contains all households on the reservation in which at least one enrolled Makah resides. 34.6% of the Tribe's 471 Makah households were interviewed.

2. All surveys were conducted in person by an enrolled Makah trained in proper survey procedures, who insured all respondents that confidentiality would be protected.

3. The survey contacted 217 of the Tribes 471 households. Of this number, 159 households agreed to be interviewed. Interestingly enough, four of the Makahs who publicly challenged the Tribe's decision to whale had their respective names randomly drawn to be surveyed. Because the Tribe wanted to minimize external influences on the survey administration, these four individuals were not surveyed. However, to maintain proper responses, these individuals were marked to answer negatively to all questions which asked for positive or negative opinions regarding Makah whaling, access to whale products, and use of whale products, as per their publically expressed opinions. Question marks indicate responses for which the survey had no information at all.

   Counting these four individuals, the total number of respondents for the survey is tallied at 163. Percentages are tallied accordingly. Five household volunteered to be included in the survey. While these households were encouraged to complete a survey form, these five respondents were NOT included in the random population of 163.

4. All survey respondents had to be enrolled Makahs with a reservation household; all respondents also had to be twenty-one years of age or older. Survey methodology assumes that each respondent is capable of answering questions about his/her own ideas and activities regarding whaling, as well as the activities of his/her household members regarding whaling.

5. A master list which related each chosen household to an exclusive number was kept at the Makah Cultural and Research Center to avoid duplication and protect confidentiality. Surveyors returned completed surveys to the Makah Cultural and Research Center, which maintained security for the documents. All completed surveys are archived at the Makah Cultural and Research Center.

6. The author/tabulator did not know the names of the respondents, and related to surveys by number only.

7. Certain questions allowed for multiple responses. Others did not. In addition, certain questions only allowed respondents who had answered a previous question a particular way to answer. Incidents of both types are indicated on the survey instrument, which is appended in 2. On the tabulation sheet, the base number of respondents is indicated by R= . R=163 means that the percentage is calculated based on the answers of 163 respondents.

8. Internal checks and balances were placed in the instrument to encourage data validity.

9. Answers are reported as percentages calculated from the base number of respondents appropriate to each question. Percentages are rounded to the nearest tenth.

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